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S E C R E T

CITE SANTIAGO

CITE [REDACTED]

DIRECTOR [REDACTED]

1. FOR [REDACTED] PLANNING PURPOSES, STATION BELIEVES IT IMPORTANT MAINTAIN CLEAR FOCUS RE OUR ASSESSMENT OF ALLENDE/PCCH RELATIONS AND DEGREE TO WHICH SOCIALIST PARTY/PCCH ANTAGONISMS CAN BE EXPLOITED FOR REALISTIC OPERATIONAL OBJECTIVES.

2. IT ESSENTIAL TO EMPHASIZE THAT STATION DOES NOT FORESEE SERIOUS RIFT BETWEEN ALLENDE AND PCCH. SUCH CONCLUSION BASED ON PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF FOLLOWING FACTORS:

A. PCCH REPRESENTS LARGEST, MOST HOMOGENEOUS, DISCIPLINED AND TALENTED PARTNER OF UNIDAD POPULAR. ITS CONTRIBUTION TO CARRYING OUT U.P. PROGRAM WILL BE ESSENTIAL.

B. WITHIN U.P. CONTEXT, PCCH REPRESENTS POLITICAL CENTER. ALLENDE AWARE THAT HE MUST KEEP EYE ON REVOLUTIONARY ZEALOTS ON LEFT FRINGE OF P.S., WHILE CONTENDING WITH TEPID FERVOR AMONG RADICAL PARTY BASES.

Declassified and
Approved for Release

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PAGE TWO

2 C. PCCH IS ONLY U.P. PARTNER WHICH CONTROLS
MASS ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS LABOR, STUDENTS, TEACHERS,
POBLADORES CAMPESINOS, ETC. SUCH ORGANIZATION WILL BE
ESSENTIAL TO ALLENDE GOVERNMENT.

D. PCCH, OF ALL U.P. PARTNERS, IS GROUP MOST
WHOLE-HEARTEDLY ENDORSING AND COMMITTING ITSELF TO
CARRYING OUT U.P. PROGRAM (AFTER ALL, PCCH, WITH
ASSISTANCE FROM MAPU, WROTE PLATFORM).

E. PARTICIPATION IN (AND ASSURING SUCCESS OF)
ALLENDE GOVERNMENT, WHILE AT SAME TIME CONTINUING
ITS PROCESS OF ORGANIZATIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL
PROZELYTIZING, IS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH PCCH STRATEGIC
POLICY AND PRACTICES.

F. PCCH, TO ALLENDE, REPRESENTS ENTITY THROUGH
WHICH HE MUST DEAL IN ORDER OBTAIN INTERNATIONAL
(SOVIET) ASSISTANCE AND EXPERTISE WHEN U.P. PROGRAM
AND MANAGEMENT PROBLEMS GET INTO TROUBLE. IT X QUITE

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TO

PAGE THREE

LIKELY THAT EXTENT OF ALLENDE'S INDEPENDENCE FROM
PCCH INFLUENCE WILL BE DIRECTLY PROPORTIONATE TO
SUCCESS OF U.P. PROGRAM.

3 3. BECAUSE OF ABOVE FACTORS OF INTERDEPENDENCY, WE
FORESEE LITTLE LIKELIHOOD OF IRRECONCILABLE ANTAGONISMS
BETWEEN ALLENDE AND PCCH. THERE WILL BE FRICTIONS. WE
KNOW, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT ALLENDE IS EXTREMELY SENSITIVE TO
ISSUE OF PCCH DOMINATION AND WILL COUNTER BY DEPICTING
HIMSELF AS "HIS OWN MAN". PCCH OF COURSE AWARE OF ALLENDE'S
FEELINGS. WITH TACTFUL HANDLING (FOR WHICH PCCH EMINENTLY
QUALIFIED) SATISFACTORY RELATIONS CAN BE MAINTAINED.

4. WHERE WE ANTICIPATE AMPLE LATITUDE FOR [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] IS AMONG GRASS-ROOTS AND MIDDLE-LEVEL PCCH AND
PS ELEMENTS. THESE ARE [REDACTED] LEADERS, STUDENT ACTIVISTS,
MUNICIPAL GOVT PERSONNEL, JUNIOR POLITICIANS WHO HAVE BEEN
RAISED ON STEADY DIET OF SLUGGING IT OUT, ON LOCAL LEVEL, WITH
THEIR FELLOW MARXIST COMPETITORS. MUTUAL DISTRUST AND
SUSPICION ABOUND.

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PAGE FOUR

5/ AS STATED IN OUR EARLIER MESSAGE ON PCCH/PS
RELATIONS, [REDACTED] EXACERBATION OF THESE DIFFERENCES
ONLY HAS RELEVANCE AS LONG AS THERE EXISTS POLITICAL
ALTERNATIVES OUTSIDE U.P. SUCH OPERATIONS MUST THEREFORE
4/ BE CONDUCTED IN CONJUNCTION WITH EFFORTS TO GALVANIZE
VIALE OPPOSITION TO U.P. FROM OUTSIDE OF MARXIST CAMP.
OPERATIONAL LIFESPAN OF [REDACTED] MAY DEPEND UPON OUR
ABILITY TO HELP XXEX CHILEANS IN ORGANIZING VIALE CENTER
FORCE AND IN KEEPING IT IN BEING AS ALTERNATIVE TO MARXISM.

6. MESSAGE CONVEYED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CLEARLY DESIGNED TO CONJURE UP MIRAGE OF SERIOUS
ALLENDE/PCCH RIFT (WHICH ALLENDE HIMSELF HAS BEEN DOING
HIS BEST TO FOSTER). NEITHER ALLENDE NOR PCCH UNDER
SLIGHTEST ILLUSION THAT THEIR COMMON ENEMIES WOULD WELCOME
ANY REAL BREACH IN U.P. SOLIDARITY AS ATTRACTIVE FULCRUM
FOR POL ACTION. MYTH WILL THEREFORE BE KEPT ALIVE THAT
"BEST GUARANTY IN PRESENT SITUATION IS ALLENDE HIMSELF"
(IBID). IF WIDELY ACCEPTED, THIS MYTH MAY RESULT IN

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PAGE FIVE

DEFLECTING U.S.G. FROM WHAT SHOULD BE ITS PRINCIPAL
OBJECTIVE, VIZ WEAKENING ALLENDE'S POPULAR BASE OF
POWER BY PREVENTING EXISTING RIFT BETWEEN TWO MARXIST
GIANTS, ESP ON BASE LEVEL, FROM ^{CLOSING} ~~HEALING~~, THIS WILL
NECESSARILY BE LONG AND ARDUOUS TASK WITH NO PANACEAS IN
SIGHT.

7. [REDACTED]

END OF MESSAGE

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